1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

791 793 [753] hengei, nemweiyu, nōā. Nōji ēosh 'M-Batyany il-tuñganak kumok to-'l-kuma lenye, neiteri nōā, neisho 'M-Batyany ol-chani, neishiu; kake mēosh Ol-Ōnana 'l-tuñganak amu ol-tuñgani oirōbi.

person sickens and dies. It is said that Mbatian often struck people with his club, and waited until they were about to die, when he gave them medicine and cured them. Lenana, however, is a gentle man and does not kill people in this manner.

Il-kunōno.

The smiths [1].

463 326 Meiyōlo 'l-Maasae pōkin áidoñgu 'remeta oo 'l-ulema, kake en-gias oo-'l-kunōno, naa ninjo ooidoñgu 'n-areta, nein-yañgu 'l-kulikae pōkin.

All Masai do not know how to make spears and swords; this is the work of the smiths. It is they who make the weapons, and the others purchase from them.

325 Ore 'n-dōkitin náidoñgishore 'l-kunōno to-'l-kōkwet naa o-soit, o ol-kirisiet, o ol-garamet, o en-gunei. Ore 'n-dōkitin náidoñgi naa 'l-tidii, oo 'n-dareta, oo 'n-dōluo, oo 'n-alulunganí, oo 'n-areta, oo 'n-gulye-tōkitin.

The smiths use in the forge a stone, a hammer, pincers, and bellows, and they make needles, bracelets, axes, anklets, weapons, and other things.

● [439] Ore 'seghenge naaata too-'l-Ashumba einyañguni, araki eidoñg o-sinyai lo-'l-keju le-Matapato.

The iron which they work with they purchase from the Swahili, or they smelt the ore which they find in the bed of the Matapato river.

326 564 Metii en-gishōmi nemeata 'l-kunōno, kake nabo-kishōmi naata 'l-kunōno kumok, nōji inna-kishōmi 'l-Kipuyōni.

Every clan has its smiths; but there is one clan, the Kipuyoni, to which most men of this class belong.

Meiyam il-kulikae-Maasae 'n-doiye oo-'l-kunōno, amu ējo

The other Masai do not marry the daughters of the smiths, for it

564 191 [1] The Kunono and Dorobo seem to hold much the same position among the Masai as the Tumaloda (smiths) and Ramis (hunters) among the Somali. No free Somali enters a smithy, or shakes hands with a smith; none takes a wife from this stock, or gives his daughter to a member of it. The Tumaloda are spread over the whole of Somaliland as the Kunono over Masailand, and no instance is known of them giving up the trade. Still more debased and poorer are the Ramis, who, like the Dorobo, live by hunting game. Cp. Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, vol. ii, p. 494.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

torono. Il-kunōno ooiyama oopeny.

Ten eibuñg ol-Maasani endōki naibuñga duo ol-kunōni, anaa em-bere, anaa ol-alem, nepik e-ilata eng-aina, amu ējo torono ten eibuñg te-'ng-aina ake.

Meata sii 'l-kunōno 'n-gishu kumok anaa 'l-kulikae-Maasae; meinosare 'n-gishu. Tin idol ol-kunōni ōata 'n-gishu artam, naa kumok naleñg.

Eata 'l-kunōno o-rorei lenye ol-loo-'l-Maasae, kake eitawal; lemeniñg il-Maasae. Mme pōkin ooata, e-matwa ake naata.

is not considered correct. The smiths marry amongst themselves. 326 564

If a Masai takes in his hand a spear or sword or other thing which a smith has held, he first of all oils his hand for it is considered improper for him to take it in his bare hand. [576]

The smiths are not rich in cattle like other Masai. They have no luck with cattle. If you find one possessing forty head, it is a very large number. [233]

The smiths have their own language, which, although a corruption of Masai, is not understood by the ordinary Masai. Not all of them can speak this language: it is only a certain number of them who know it. [198]

'Mōtio oo 'l-pukurto.

Eidim i-ñgorōyok oo-'l-Maasae kulye áitobira 'mōtio; nemeidim kulye, neinyañgu ake too-'l-meek.

Einyañgu sii 'l-pukurto, araki etum too-'miñgan.

Eidim aatimir en-gine áinosye e-mōti nabo.

Ore ten eitobir il-Maasae 'mōtio, neitobir in-gituak oo 'n-gutiti, nepik pōkin ingumeshi p' eibuñgye ten edōtu.

Ten epwo 'l-muran aayeñgisho, nepik en-gāne pe etum áibuñga.

Earthenware pots and gourds.

Some Masai women are able to make earthenware pots; others who are unable to make them buy them from savages. 323 [439]

Gourds are also bought, or they are collected in the deserted kraals. [415]

One pot can be purchased for a goat. [435]

When the Masai make pots they make them in two sizes, big and small; these pots are also provided with handles [1] by which they can be picked up.

When warriors go to the woods to slaughter cattle, they carry their cooking-pots by a strip of hide fastened to the handles [2]. [482] [237]

[1] Lit. nostrils. [2] For illustrations see Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, p. 89.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

3. Ol-morijo. Ninye oitaunyeki il-Torōbo e-saiyet oo-'m-baa, nainyaāgu 'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae.

3. *Acokanthera Schimperi* (Hochst.), Bth. and Hook. The Dorobo obtain poison for their arrows from this tree, and Masai elders purchase it from them.

4. Ol-āgoswa. Ninye ōudye 'l-Maasae 'n-gera 'n-giyaa. Neata sii e-manoo naji e-saate araki en-aiāgure nanyaali 'āgorōyok, nepejōkīni 'malasin naadanya.

4. *Balanites sp.* With the thorns of this tree the Masai pierce their children's ears. The sap, called gum or frankincense, is chewed by women, and is used for mending the gourds when they break.

5. Ol-āgeriandus. E-tii 'l-āgeriandusi oora 'mwain are, ol-ōpiki 'n-jashuri o ol-likae ōpejisho ten epiki 'seseni.

5. *Rubia cordifolia*, L., and *Plumbago zeylanica*, L. There are two plants called ol-ngeriandus, from one of which a dye is obtained which is used for colouring the sheaths red, whilst the other is used for tattooing.

Ore illo ōpejisho na ninye enyor in-doiye epejye aate 'ng-omomite oo 'sederi p' eaku aidan; kake en-natonyora epeny neiko nēja, mēarakīni.

The latter kind is what girls like, and they tattoo themselves[1] with it on the forehead and the sides of the face to make themselves look beautiful; but it is only done by those who wish, it is not done by force.

Eiger sii 'n-doiye 'ng-oshua too-'l-kighareta araki eipir too-'n-gujit áitaman o-sararua, kake mepik tōki.

Girls also scratch the skin off their bellies with thorns, or make incisions with grass round their navels, but they do not rub anything into these cuts.

Neiko si nēja 'l-muran, kake 'me pókin ooiko nēja, ol-oiyēu ake.

Some warriors do this too, but only those who wish.

6. Ol-bughoi epik i-āgorōyok il-kilani pe enyoriju eton eāgejuko; eishori sii 'n-gīshu naamwei ol-tikana.

6. *Terminalia sp.* The tannin of this tree is used by the women for curing skins with. It is also given to cattle when they are suffering from gall fever.

7. Ol-magirigirianie. Ninye epik il-Maasae 'm-benek oó 'l-

7. *Lantana salvifolia*, Jacq. The leaves and fruit of this plant are

[1] An illustration of tattooing round a Masai woman's eyes is given in Sir H. H. Johnston's book, p. 804. A somewhat similar instance of tattooing amongst the Latukas is given in Baker's *The Albert Nyanza*, vol. i, p. 216.

January, 1918, when it was decided that the introduction of the tax should be postponed and Mr. Bowring recorded his opinion that it would not be convenient again to consider the matter until after the war, or, at least, until it became possible considerably to increase the number of administrative officers in the Masai Reserve. 648*

SECTION 9.—TRADE.

The Growth of the Cattle Trade Trade in Imported Goods Somali Cattle Trade in the Southern Masai Reserve—Report by Mr. Bowring, Mr. McClellan and Lord Delamere, December, 1912 —Restrictions on the entry of Cattle into the Masai Reserve Itinerant Native Traders in the Masai Reserve Temporary Occupation Licences Mr. Hemsted's views: Establishment of Trading Centres: April, 1914—Mr. Hemsted's views Establishment of Trading Centres: July, 1914 Cost of erection of dips Mr. Hemsted's proposals approved Military requirements The closing of the Masai Reserve to trade Military restrictions removed "Gazetted" Native or trading centres in the Masai Reserve Plot holders permitted to sell cattle for cash in the Masai Reserve—Itinerant trading Mr. Hemsted's views Mr. Ainsworth's suggestions Mr. Hemsted's comments Further trade centres gazetted No modifications made Mr. Hemsted's suggestions for granting townships Further trading centres gazetted. 000

The growth of the cattle trade

As might be expected in the case of a pastoral and conservative tribe, such as the Masai, the years following the establishment of an administration sufficiently powerful to prevent recourse being had to raids as a successful means of augmenting their flocks and herds were employed in cattle trading on a large scale in both the Northern and Southern Reserves allotted to them. Cattle trade in the Southern Reserve was mainly in the hands of individual Somalis in small numbers, but the Northern Reserve formed one of the main markets in the Protectorate for all classes of Somalis who, bringing Somali and Boran cattle from the north, visited that territory on their way south and generally succeeded in advantageously disposing of all they took with them. 648* 439

Trade in imported goods

European and Indian traders do not appear to have made any efforts to establish a trade on Laikipia, but a number of shops were opened by such traders in the Southern Reserve, on the Uaso Nyiro and at Ngong, during 1909 and the following years, and by the end of 1911 a flourishing but somewhat loosely controlled trade had sprung up, the Masai showing an increasing tendency to purchase imported articles and farinaceous foodstuffs.

In the extended Southern Masai Reserve a check occurred in the increase of trade during the course of the Masai move in 1912, and it was decided that no more permits to erect shops in that area should be issued until the move had been completed.

Somali cattle trade in the Southern Masai Reserve.

The advisability of allowing Somalis to carry on an unrestricted cattle trade in the Masai Reserves first engaged the attention of the Government early in the year 1912, when it was pointed out by the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, that by the importation of new stock, the already well-stocked grazing grounds were tending to become inadequate for the needs of the tribe, and also that by the provision of facilities for the exchange of sheep for breeding cattle, the encouragement that was being given to the Masai to sell their surplus stock was largely discounted. It was reported that from the Kitui and Machakos districts alone some 3,000 breeding cows had been exported to the Southern Reserve in the last quarter of 1911. As against these figures Mr. Hollis mentioned that, whereas one head of cattle consumed as much grazing as seven sheep, the Masai were willing to exchange thirty sheep for one heifer and that, in consequence, there was a considerable saving in grazing ground on such an exchange. This trade also was largely instrumental in ensuring a regular supply of mutton in the Protectorate and it was therefore decided in March, 1912, that no restrictions should be placed on cattle trading in the Southern Masai Reserve. Three months later this decision was temporarily modified by forbidding the issue of permits to trade in livestock in the Masai Reserves near the routes by which the Masai were travelling, while the move was in progress, but no restrictions were placed on the trade in the Ngong district. On the 1st of September, 1912, the Northern Masai Reserve was closed

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to cattle trading on account of outbreaks of rinderpest and pleuro-pneumonia and it was decided that this trade should not be reopened until after the Masai had settled down in the Southern Reserve.

In November, 1912, Sir Henry Belfield raised the question for further consideration, it having been represented to him that the unrestricted touring of native reserves by itinerant Somali cattle dealers and the bartering by them of female stock for oxen was likely to be detrimental to the future of the tribes, more particularly the Masai, as tending to encourage their already too prevalent inclinations to increase the numbers of their herds and thereby placing a serious obstacle in the way of efforts to induce them to engage in trade and agriculture. It was his impression that it would be good policy to prohibit these traders from entering the reserves and to compel them to effect sales of stock, as opposed to barter, only at recognised trading centres. It would be impolitic to prevent the members of a tribe from purchasing in such markets, but they would not be encouraged to do so and there would be less inclination on their part to buy than was the case when the cattle were brought to their doors.

Report by Mr. Bowring, Mr McClellan, and Lord Delamere, December, 1912.

The Chief Secretary discussed the matter with the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, and later with Lord Delamere, and a joint report was submitted on the 23rd of December, 1912. The argument put forward was that the procedure of allowing Somalis and other traders to enter the reserve with cattle for trading purposes would hasten the day when the reserve would no longer be able to accommodate the cattle, and that this procedure kept up the price of cattle to such a figure that it was unremunerative for European farmers to purchase them. Even if no more cattle were allowed to enter the reserve, it would not be long before it became over-crowded, but it was desirable for political reasons to postpone that day as long as possible. In their report they recommended that the Masai should be encouraged to purchase cattle and sheep for cash, but added that there seemed to be no objection to livestock being obtained from the tribe in exchange for trade goods. They were opposed to livestock being allowed to enter the reserve for trade purposes and recommended prohibition of such importation. They saw no reason why the Masai residing within the reserve should be allowed to leave the reserve for the purpose of acquiring more livestock and they considered that any Masai who left his reserve to work and who expended his earnings in purchasing cattle or sheep should be allowed to take them back to the reserve with him. The desire to possess livestock being the only incentive for the members of this tribe to work for wages, they feared that unless the workers were allowed to spend their wages in the purchase of livestock, they would not go out of the reserves, with the result that there would be a dearth of reliable herds. In addition, they suggested that the Masai could well afford to pay a tax on their livestock and considered that such tax should be collected in cash, thus necessitating the sale of stock in order to obtain rupees. The Masai Reserve would thus become a source of supply for the settled areas of the Protectorate.

In short, they recommended that cattle and sheep should be allowed to leave the reserve freely (subject to any veterinary regulations) but that none should be allowed to enter the reserve except on certificate from an European employer to the effect that the individual importing them had earned the wages with which he purchased them.

Restrictions on the entry of cattle into the Masai Reserve.

Sir Henry Belfield expressed himself generally as in agreement with these views, but decided to postpone consideration of the proposals for the imposition of a cattle tax until the Masai had settled down. After consideration in Executive Council, he directed that passes to leave the reserve should only be issued to those whose intention it was to look for work, and that the certificate recommended as a condition under which cattle and sheep could be taken into the reserve should not be insisted on. Rules were accordingly issued under the Outlying Districts Ordinance, 1902, to the effect that no licence would be granted to any persons to enter the Masai Reserve, except subject to the condition that the licensee would not take or allow to be taken into the reserve any cattle or sheep and that such condition should be endorsed upon every licence granted in respect of the Masai reserve.

This notice was subsequently cancelled (*vide* p. 95).

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In May, 1913, it was decided to enforce the stipulation that no Masai be permitted to take stock into the reserve unless that stock had been purchased with wages earned and that no permit be issued in respect of such stock unless the stock were the property of the applicant.

Itinerant Native traders in the Masai Reserve.

In October, 1912, certain European plot-holders in the Masai Reserve complained of the itinerant trade carried on by the Kikuyu with the Masai. Four isolated shops, three European* and one Indian, existed in the South Masai Reserve, but these catered only to a limited extent and in certain limited areas for the wants of the Masai, and there was therefore scope for the itinerant native trader who would supply the goods required by the Masai at a less exorbitant price in exchange for sheep and skins. As it was part of the general policy to encourage the demand for trade goods on the part of the Masai, the Provincial Commissioner recommended that itinerant trading of cash or trade goods against sheep or cattle be permitted without restriction but that no cattle be allowed to enter the reserve for trade purpdes. After a trial extending over a period of five months, he found himself unable to recommend the continuance of the system, which was creating a lazy type of Kikuyu who would buy sheep in large numbers in exchange for tobacco. In September, 1913, Mr. Hemsted represented that such trade supplied a much-felt want by enabling the Kikuyu to purchase sheep from the Masai and tending to make the former more industrious. Further, under the terms of the agreement of 1911 between the Masai and the Government, the latter had undertaken not to permit any person other than a member of the tribe to occupy land within the reserve, except with the consent of the Masai and as the "Masai case" was then before the Courts, Mr. Hemsted found it impossible to open trade centres as Legalishu, contending that this agreement was invalid, refused to sign any document in respect of the leasing of areas in the reserve, fearing that such a step might be construed as an acknowledgment of the existence of the treaty and might jeopardise his claim to Laikipia.

Under these circumstances, therefore, the Governor saw no reason to suppose that this trading was likely to be productive of anything but benefit to both parties. At the same time, he asked the Officer-in-Charge what was the extent of the legitimate requirements of the Masai and whether it would not be advisable to limit the number of trading licences in proportion to those requirements. To this Mr. Hemsted replied that there was no limit to the amount of the flour, tobacco and trade goods which the Masai could absorb, and as the established merchants at the time were incapable of coping with the demand, he proposed to place no restrictions on the number of natives entering the reserve for the purpose of such trade. These proposals were approved in October, 1913.

Temporary occupation licences.

In that month, owing to the refusal of certain Masai to attach their signature to agreements in respect of trading plots, the temporary occupation licences of two of the plot-holders had to be cancelled at three months' notice. The Masai were somewhat nervous that the conditions of the treaty would not be strictly adhered to and feared that they might be deprived of certain grazing lands. The action of one of the plot-holders in utilising a considerable area of land round his store as grazing ground for his own herds did not tend to lessen their anxiety in this connection.

With the Masai adopting this attitude, the Governor thought that it would be unwise to recognise any agreement with the chiefs until the litigation in respect of Laikipia had been concluded. While, therefore, he considered that the business carried on by these traders was advantageous to the Masai and should not be disturbed without strong reason, he was of the opinion that no document of any description should be given them in respect of their temporary occupation, but that they should be permitted to occupy such small areas as might be necessary for their trade, on the understanding that they had no rights in those areas and were liable to removal at any time.

* Messrs. Judd, Angeli, and Van de Weyer on temporary occupation licences.

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In May, 1914, Mr. Hemsted represented that the practice of allowing traders to squat at various places in the Reserve or to travel at will therein was far from satisfactory. It rendered the enforcement of veterinary regulations difficult and was deprecated by the better class traders themselves as rendering the erection of permanent stores and dwelling houses an unprofitable proceeding. The Masai, he said, could never be developed on civilised lines if a measure adopted for their own good fell through owing to their inability to understand the nature of an agreement or because of their intense conservatism. He therefore asked for permission to gazette certain trading centres without having a formal agreement in writing, except as regards the Ngong District. His proposals were, however, regarded as premature pending the conclusion of the litigation.

Mr. Hemsted's views—Establishment of trading centres—April, 1914.

On the 10th of April, 1914, Mr. Hemsted advocated the adoption of a far greater measure of control over stock trading in the reserve. The arrangement of allowing itinerant traders rendered difficult the enforcement of veterinary regulations and several cases had recently occurred in the neighbourhood of Naivasha where the farmers' flocks had been infected with scab caught from sheep passing from the Masai Reserve. It was impossible thoroughly to inspect the tens of thousands of sheep that passed out. The Chief Veterinary Officer had advocated the erection of dips at the main trade exits, where all stock destined for other parts of the Protectorate might undergo a period of dipping, but Mr. Hemsted considered that the consequent delay, the necessity for providing superintending veterinary officers, difficulties in obtaining food, the erection of accommodation and the hindrance to trade caused by limiting the number of exits would make the system so inconvenient as to stifle business.

In place of this system he suggested the entire prohibition of itinerant trading, both white and black, the establishment of trading stations at various parts of the reserve, the erection of a dip at each trading station and the compulsory dipping of all animals intended for removal outside the reserve. Owners of plots were to have the monopoly of exporting stock. The advantages of this system were that trade would be restricted to well-known and probably substantial merchants who would be unwilling to run the risk of evading the regulations. They would be able to carry out the necessary dipping with a minimum of inconvenience in the vicinity of their own stores and the sheep would be in a better condition for the market. Resident storekeepers would be able to remove their stock by any route open to them without risk of carrying infection, and the dips would also be available for the Masai if they cared to use them or if dipping were made compulsory. The sheep trade with the Masai was, he said, capable of great expansion.

Mr. Sandy's views, June, 1914.

The Chief Veterinary Officer discussed the matter with certain administrative officers at Naivasha and his views were embodied in a letter dated the 11th of June, 1914. The regulation published in February, 1913, forbidding trade in livestock in the Masai Reserve and restricting the entry of cattle was open to abuse and was, in itself, a dead letter, as it was not possible to prevent such trading and the surreptitious movement of stock. The regulations had been of an administrative nature, as no veterinary objections existed to the trade and there were considerable differences of opinion regarding the best policy to pursue in the matter. Apart from the question of the development of the Masai, the interests of European cattle owners and sheepmasters were involved. The former would urge that if trading of cattle in the Masai Reserve were allowed it was impossible for them to obtain stock, as cattle in the open market would rise to a prohibitive figure, it being a more remunerative business to exchange cattle for sheep and goats with the Masai. On the other hand, the sheepmaster had need of native ewes, of which the Masai possessed some two millions and the supply of which was cut off if the Masai Reserve were closed to the entry of cattle, as it was only by such barter of stock that the Masai could be induced to part with their sheep in any numbers. Further, such sheep had proved to possess valuable qualities as resisters of both external and internal parasites and to be a cheap and accessible foundation for sheep flocks of both woolled and mutton types. Mr. Sandy pointed out that cattle were required by the great majority of farmers, whereas the settled areas suitable for sheep were practically confined to the Rift Valley

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Reserve to ensure supplies of beef and mutton for the troops, arrangements were made in September, 1914, for trustworthy Somalis to exchange, on permit, cows and heifers for sheep and bullocks in the reserve, subject to restrictions limiting the number of cows imported to thirty-five head per journey and regulations necessitating the sale to Government of the stock so obtained at Ngong station. The price for sale to the Military Authorities was fixed at Rs. 4–5 per sheep and Rs. 30–50 per bullock for a beast of about 350 lbs. killing weight.

The Closing of the Masai Reserve to trade.

In August, 1915, instructions emanated from the Secretariat prohibiting until further orders the issue of permits to enter the Masai Reserve, while all Somalis then in the reserve were to be removed before the end of September. Such a step was necessitated by the military situation and the food requirements of the troops were met by authority to commandeer stock from the Masai for cash.

In October, 1915, it became necessary for the General Staff to order the closing down of all trading centres situated within twenty miles of the Anglo-German border, while at the same time all traders were prohibited from entering that area. In January, 1916, further restrictions were enforced and traders were excluded from the district east of the Mara River which had not previously been closed. This order was subsequently modified to permit trading in established centres north of the Kijabe-Mara cart road, but with a total prohibition on itinerant trading.

Military restrictions removed.

The trading centres which were thus closed to Indians, Somalis and Swahilis comprised Mara Bridge, Sianna, Narosura, Endasegera, Gelegele, Mogor, Bardamat and Ol-Orokuti, all of which were within forty miles of the boundary, but in response to Mr. Hemsted's representations, the Military Authorities permitted the opening of these stations in July, 1916, on the understanding that no undesirable person should obtain a plot and that the prohibition on itinerant trading should remain in force.

"Gazette" notice re trading centres in the Masai Reserve.

On the 8th of December, 1915, a schedule of trading centres was published in the "Official Gazette." The Notice read as follows:—

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate with the consent of Segi, Engaroya, Suburi, Marmori, Langiri, Agali, Ole Yeli, Ole Naigisa, Ole Gesheyan, Ole Matipe, Ole Nakola, Ole Kotikosh, Ole Batiet, Ole Turere, Ole Masikondi, Ole Gelishu, Ole Malit, Ole Tanyai, on behalf of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve in centres the names situation and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto on the terms and conditions following:—

"1. Plots of 2 acres approximately.

"2. Rental per plot per mensem Rs. 12.

"3. Separate plots for Europeans, Asiatics and Natives.

"4. Plots will be let under annual occupation licences.

"H. C. BELFIELD,

"*Governor.*

"NAIROBI,

"Dated this 6th day of December, 1915."

4: Sandford C-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

SCHEDULE.

NOTE.—The approximate extent of each of the Trade Centres is described as "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

	Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1.	Narok Government Station	Narok River, 70 miles from Kijabe.
2.	Engirendo (Mara) Govt. Station ..	Mara River, where it bends West.
3.	Ngong Government Station	Ngong Hills, 14 miles West of Nairobi.
4.	Guaso N'giro	N'giro River, 80 miles from Kijabe.
5.	Mara Bridge	Mara River, 7 miles below Engirendo.
6.	Mau	Near Saukutiek River.
7.	Mau	Mau Narok, near Likia.
8.	Narosurra	Narosurra River, a tributary of the Guaso N'giro.
9.	Ol Alung'a	Upper Guaso N'giro, Western Bank.
10.	Kashongwa	Leita Hills.
11.	Lemek	Lemek Valley.
12.	Ol Onggai	Trans-Mara region at Ol Joro, Ngatuny.
13.	Ndabde	At Penvin Dam.
14.	Weikei	On Weikei River.
15.	Sianna	Leita Hills.
16.	Gelegele	Gelegele Hill, on Kisii Border.
17.	Sandamat	Leita Plains.
18.	Mogor	Mogor River, Trans-Mara region.
19.	Angata Pusi	Lower Mara, East Bank.
20.	Angata Nando	Lower Sirabei River.
21.	Uaso Kedong	Kedong Valley, below farms.
22.	Kandia	Athi River.
23.	Ol Joreibor	A stream at the South end of Mt. Enaparasha, Matapatu Country.
24.	Metiganju	Metiganju River, in the Ol Ditokitok Country.

In view of the fact that cattle were being commandeered from the Masai and bought for cash, the question of the advisability of permitting the Masai to purchase stock with cash so obtained was brought forward by Mr. Hemsted in February, 1916. He represented that new blood would be beneficial and that the small numbers of cattle so purchased would not materially affect the situation and therefore he recommended that established traders be permitted to bring cattle to their stores for sale to the Masai for cash. The Governor approved this measure but considered that it would be a good thing if it could be arranged that the opportunities given to the Masai for purchase should be limited to higher grade cattle to the exclusion of native stock. The Rule under the Outlying Districts Ordinance, dated the 4th of February, 1913 (*vide* p. 91), was therefore cancelled by Rule in the "Official Gazette" of the 1st of March, 1916.

Plot holders permitted to sell cattle for cash in the Masai Reserve.

In October, 1916, Mr. Hemsted submitted a comprehensive memorandum on the policy which should be pursued in regard to itinerant trade in the Masai Reserve. He deprecated any policy of throwing open the reserve to unrestricted itinerant trading. A large business had been built up by the better class of merchant at the trading centres, by which the requirements of the Masai had been greatly augmented and had to a very considerable extent been met. Itinerant trading would force these men to adopt similar methods and would lead to the discontinuation of trade centres. The Masai would be content if articles were brought to their doors and would never visit the centres, thus losing touch with outside influences and with the benefits accruing from competition between merchants. The question also affected the labour market, as thousands of Kikuyu would prefer making a livelihood by barter with the Masai to working for wages. The system of trading centres had proved both beneficial and acceptable to the Masai who appreciated the cheaper rate at which they could obtain goods, while they had found from experience that the system of itinerant trading led to many cases of theft or alleged theft.

Itinerant trading. Mr. Hemsted's views.

The result of the establishment of trading centres and of the exclusion of the itinerant trader had been the establishment of shops by more than one hundred and twenty merchants in the Narok and Mara districts alone and the Masai had asked for eight more centres in these districts. Trade had been almost at a standstill in the Ngong districts, where there were only three trade centres, but the opening of

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twelve more had recently been asked for and Mr. Hemsted anticipated that there would shortly be from 250–300 plot-holders in the reserve if the present system was adhered to. Masai funds would therefore benefit to the extent of two or three thousand pounds a year from rent of plots.

Mr. Ainsworth's suggestions.

Mr. Ainsworth, to whom the memorandum was referred, considered that a system of monopoly would not achieve progress and that the confinement of trade to plot-holders was undoubtedly such a system. The conservative ideas of the Masai would, he thought, be more rapidly changed by encouraging the greater freedom of trade. Plot-holders would benefit by any increase in the cattle trade on a cash basis, particularly if the itinerant cattle trader was confined to making purchases for cash. Mr. Ainsworth accordingly suggested, for adoption as Government policy, the commencement as soon as possible of a property tax on the Masai, the prohibition of barter of stock except as between Masai and Masai, the encouragement of the erection of permanent houses by the chiefs and principal elders, restrictions on the importation of cattle into the reserve, the establishment of stock markets at trade centres at which cash sales should be enforced and the confining of itinerant traders to the various markets. Itinerant traders should only be permitted to enter the reserve on passes from District Commissioners and natives of other tribes should only be allowed in the Masai Reserve for limited periods unless properly employed by non-natives. Finally, he recommended that a schedule be drawn up of improvements necessary or desirable in the interests of the Masai and that the Masai be invited to associate themselves with such improvements and make an annual contribution towards their being undertaken.

Mr. Hemsted's comments.

Mr. Hemsted, in commenting on Mr. Ainsworth's suggestions, remarked that it appeared improbable that the Masai would ever develop into porters or agricultural labourers and that the only feasible policy appeared to be to develop them as stock breeders, in which capacity they would be a far greater asset to the country. Their ideas were already changing. About 20,000 bullocks and 180,000 sheep had been provided for the military authorities and forty-four trading centres had been set apart, wherein some two hundred plots had been leased on temporary occupation licences. Trade in the Masai Reserve was greater in proportion to population than in any other part of the Protectorate. He recommended that the introduction of cattle into the reserve should be unrestricted. The natural increase of the Masai herds approximated 90,000 per annum and the number introduced from outside would be negligible in comparison. Moreover, new blood was beneficial and the Masai stock was deteriorating owing to in-breeding. The necessity for supervision would render difficult and expensive any system whereby itinerant traders, as opposed to plot-holders, were permitted to sell in open market even at trade centres, and he hardly thought the policy of compelling traders to sell for cash to be practicable.

Further trade centres gazetted.

Two notices published in the "Official Gazette" of November 22nd, 1916, indicated the opening of twenty more trade centres in the Masai Reserve. The Notices read as follows:—

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate with the consent of Segi, Engaroya and Ole Galishu, on behalf of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve in centres the names, situation and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto on the terms and conditions following:

"1. Plots of two acres approximately.

"2. Rental per plot per mensem, Rs. 12.

"3. Separate plots for Europeans, Asiatics and Natives.

"4. Plots will be let under annual occupation licences.

"O. C. BOWRING,

"*Governor's Deputy.*

"NAIROBI,

"Dated this 18th day of November, 1916."

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

SCHEDULE.

	Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1.	Oberian	Approximate 15 miles West of Ngong on En Donyo Narok.
2.	Lorlarish	Approximate 20 miles from Ngong, immediately below and West of En Donyo Narok.
3.	Selengai	Approximate 17 miles South of mile 260, Uganda Railway, on the Sand River.
4.	Engoragish	Approximate 11 miles East of Kajiado-Longido Road where it passes En Donyo Rok.
5.	Tureka	South of mile 55, Magadi Railway.
6.	Besil	A river approximate 20 miles from Kajiado, on the Kajiado-Longido Road.
7.	Simba	Amguta Ngutiko pools.
8.	Ngorigishi	Approximate 10 miles South of Magadi Railway and 6 East of Besil-Longido Road.
9.	Ol Lenarau	A river about 5 miles South of mile 10 of the Magadi Railway, and 3 hours from Kiu.
10.	Mkajor Ol Kukuyu	About 6 miles from Magadi Junction.
11.	Naramuro	A river flowing N.E. from Kibo peak in Kilimanjaro into the Laitokitok country.

Note.—The approximate extent of the above trading centres is described as "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate with the consent of Segi, Engaroya, Saburi, Marmori, Langiri, Agali, Ole Yeli, Ole Naigina, Ole Gesheyan, Ole Matipe, Ole Nakola, Ole Kotikosh, Ole Batiet, Ole Turere, Ole Masikondi, Ole Gelishu, Ole Malit, Ole Tanyai, on behalf of the Paramount Chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve in centres the names, situations and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto on the terms and conditions following:—

"1. Plots of two acres approximately.

"2. Rental per plot, per mensem, Rs. 12.

"3. Separate plots for Europeans, Asiatics and Natives.

"4. Plots will be let under annual occupation licences.

"C. C. BOWRING,
"*Governor's Deputy.*

"NAIROBI,
"Dated this 18th day of November, 1916."

SCHEDULE.

	Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1.	Lolusie	Southern slopes of Il Melili.
2.	Rotiyan	About 10 miles North of Narok Station on Siyabei River.
3.	Ol Ombari	Southern slopes of Mau, about 24 miles North of Narok Station.
4.	Mosiro	Left Bank of Guaso Ngiro, about 35 miles South of Narok Station.
5.	Rodung'asir	North-East Loita Hills.
6.	Osubugo Oirobi	East Loita Hills.
7.	Morijo	North Loita Hills, on the Engovangilani Stream.
8.	Nyai Garra	Central Loita Hills.
9.	Ol Motiyo lo Kamusiro	N.W. of Mt. Suswa (Ol Doinyo O Nyukye) about 3 miles South of Kijabe-Mara waggon road.

Note.—The approximate extent of the above trade centres is described as "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

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No modifications made. February, 1917.

The question of the advisability of once more allowing free entry of cattle into the reserve was discussed in Executive Council, on the 20th of February, 1917, when it was decided that no interference with, or modification of, the existing arrangements was desirable.

Mr. Hemsted's suggestions for gazetting townships.

In October, 1917, Mr. Hemsted made proposals with a view to the regulation of trade in the reserve, and to the granting of facilities to persons, other than the licensed plot-holders. He suggested that all trade centres be declared townships, with markets declared therein and rules applied, and he proposed that no trading should be permitted except at the gazetted trade centres. He contended that the bringing of the Masai into touch with outside influences, the benefits of competition, the encouragement induced to place trade on a cash basis, and the assistance which would thereby be given to the native labour supply, were advantages which might be claimed for this system, while it would also be more practicable to enforce the veterinary regulations. The Masai, as well as all traders, except some Somalis, were in favour of confining trade to the trade centres. No fees would be charged to persons buying in the centres for cash only, but a schedule of fees for licences and of market fees was suggested.

The question was considered in Executive Council, of the 12th of January, 1918, when the consensus of opinion was that matters should remain as they were. The Officer-in-Charge, who was present during the discussion, did not wish to press his recommendations.

Further trading centres gazetted.

Five additional trading centres were opened by notice in the "Official Gazette," of January 30th, 1918. The notice read as follows:—

"The Government of the East Africa Protectorate, with the consent of the Paramount Chief, and the representatives of the Masai tribe, is prepared to grant occupation rights within the outlying district known as the Masai Reserve, in centres, the names, situations and areas whereof are specified in the Schedule annexed hereto, on the terms and conditions following:—

"(The conditions are the same as those previously specified.)

"W. J. MONSON,

"*Governor's Deputy.*

"NAIROBI,

"Dated this 25th day of January, 1918."

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SCHEDULE.

	Name of Trade Centre.	Situation.
1.	Kajiado	Within one mile North of Kajiado Railway Station, on the Magadi Railway.
2.	Nenki	Within one mile North of Nenki Station, on the Magadi Railway.
3.	Namanga	On Namanga water course on Kajiado-Longido road.
4.	Meto	On Meto water course in the Ondonga le Meto.
5.	Ngurumau	At the North-West foot of Ol Doinyo Shombole, on the East Bank of the Guaso Njiro River, shortly before it enters Lake Natron.

NOTE.—The approximate extent of each of the above trading centres is "160 acres within a circle with a beacon as centre."

4: Sandford

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FL12 Masai FL12

P. 98-A	P. 98-B	P. 98-C
	P. 98-D	P. 98-E

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 98]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 98-A]

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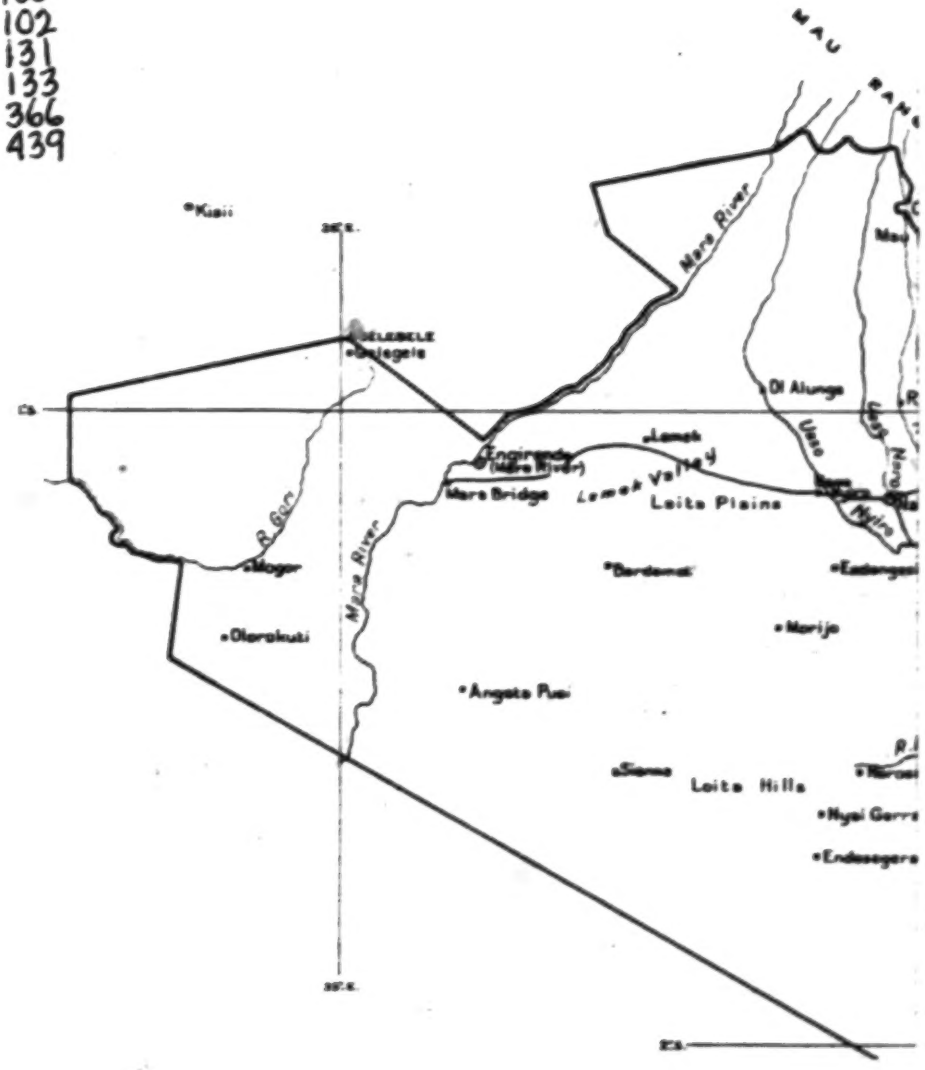

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.98-B]

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4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P.98-C]

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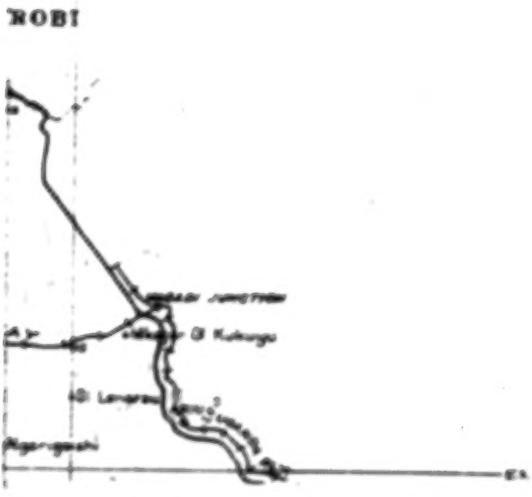
TRADE CENTRES

in the

MASAI RESERVE

Scale : 1,000,000



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P 98-D]

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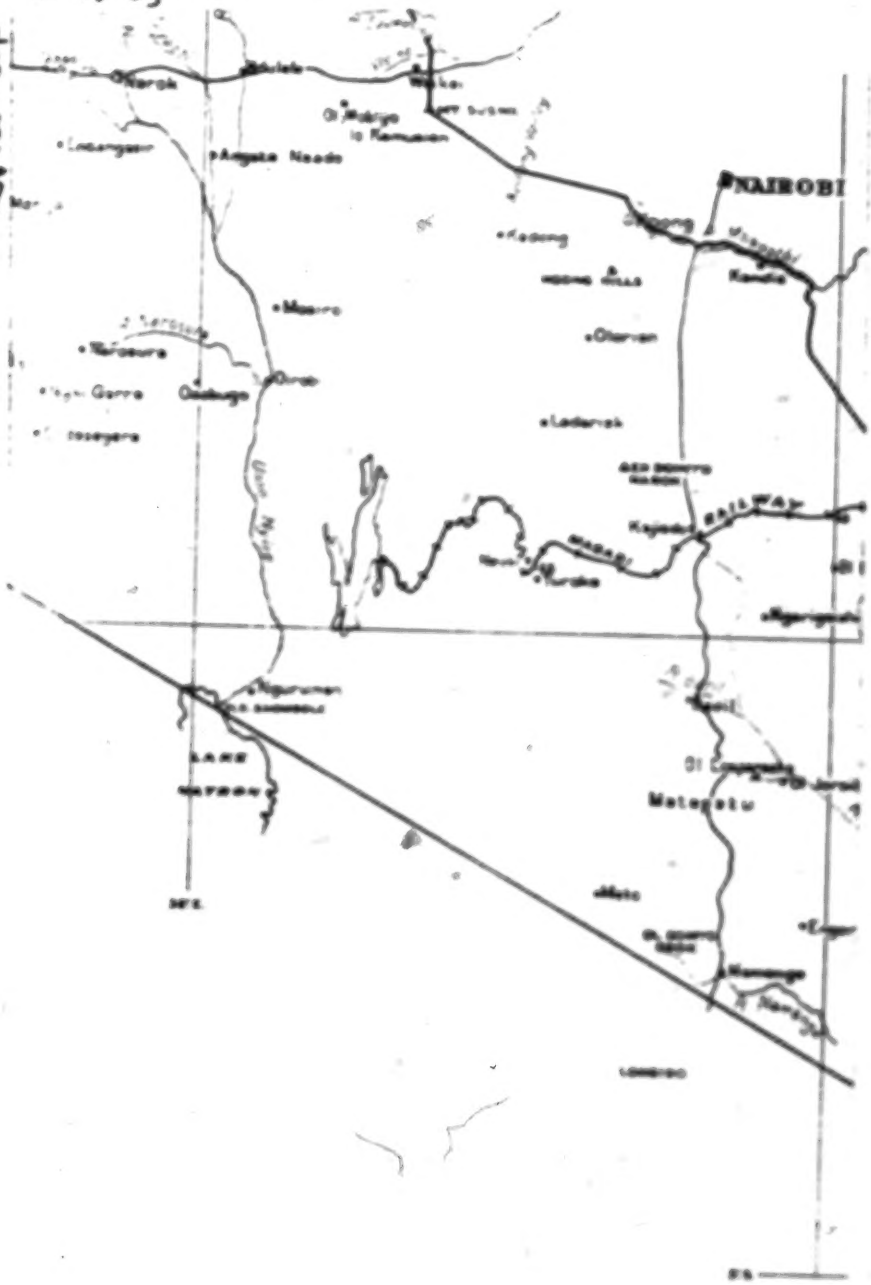
NAIROBI
Kajiado
Magadi
Mbagathi
Kapiti
Athi River
Machakos
Kibwezi
Makueni
Mtito Andei
Tsavo
Voi
Taveta
Moshi
Arusha
Kajiado
Ngong
Kiserian
Isinya
Namanga
Loitokitok
Amboseli
Kimana
Oloitokitok
Rombo
Kilimanjaro
Mt. Kilimanjaro
Mt. Meru
Longido
Angata Naado
Ngaresero
Ngare Nanyuki
Nanyuki
Mt. Kenya
Nyeri
Thika
Kiambu
Limuru
Naivasha
Gilgil
Nakuru
Lake Nakuru
Lake Naivasha
Lake Magadi
Lake Amboseli
Lake Jipe
Lake Chala
Lake Manyara
Mto wa Mbu
Makuyuni
Monduli
Engaruka
Mbulu
Kondoa
Dodoma
Kongwa
Mpwapwa
Kilosa
Morogoro
Mikumi
Same
Mombo
Korogwe
Handeni
Kibaha
Kisarawe
Mkuranga
Kilwa
Lindi
Mtwara
Tanga
Pangani
Bagamoyo
Dar es Salaam
Mafia
Zanzibar
Pemba
Mombasa
Malindi
Kilifi
Kwale
Lunga Lunga
Vanga
Shimoni
Gazi
Kwale
Diani
Ukunda
Kilifi
Mazeras
Mariakani
Kaloleni
Rabai
Kilifi
Malindi
Mambrui
Ngomeni
Garsen
Hola
Tana River
Lamu
Witu
Mpeketoni
Kiunga
Ishakani
Garissa
Bura

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.98-E]

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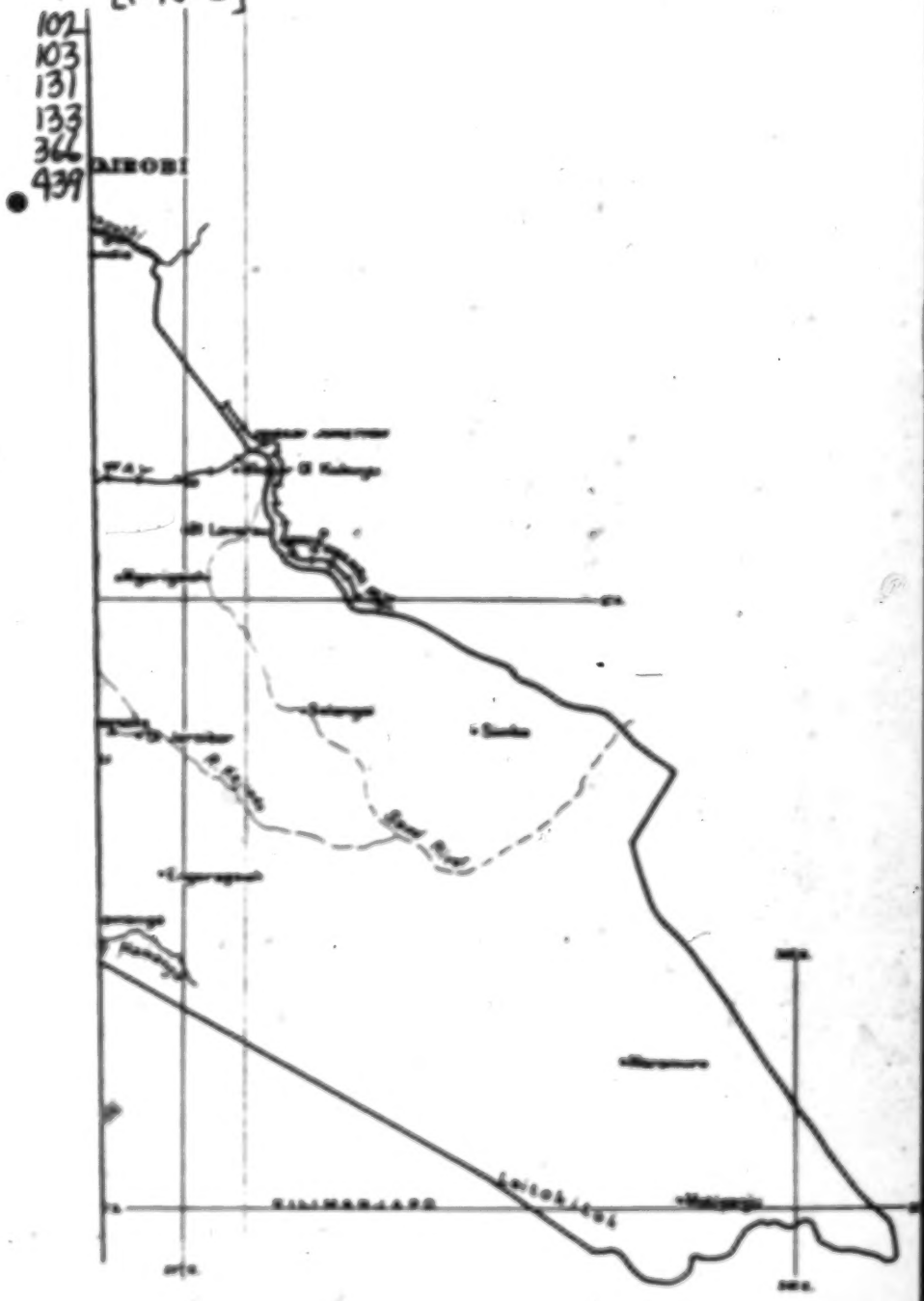

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

abandoned, and, though meat and milk were still the main items of his eating, he could now vary it with vegetable food, obtained by his wife from neighbouring agricultural tribes. Luxuries, also, he might now indulge in. He sported a fancy snuff-box and tobacco-box of ivory or rhinoceros' horn, and delighted to rap up its contents as he handed it to a friend. He chewed tobacco (mixed always with natron), though he never smoked. Then, as often as convenient, he liked to foregather with his friends, and have a jolly carouse over beer or mead.

It is pleasant to know that with this change in his mode of life there was a corresponding alteration (very much for the better) in his views of things. He delighted to talk with the traders whom before he had gloried in killing or annoying, and would in token of good-will cordially exchange the courtesies of life by spitting upon them and being spat upon. In his conversation he showed an intelligence far superior to any specimen of the Bantu tribes. He had no suspicions, and was communicative about his affairs and beliefs. He would even at times exercise a friendly guardianship of passing traders, and was able to ward off many a disaster by judicious warning. He was not stinted in his presents, and generally gave far more than he got. He has been known even to protect strayed porters, and tend sick men left behind

The softening down of his ferocity reacted upon his face. The habitual scowl gradually died away, and was replaced by a more pleasing and genial expression. His thoughts turned more to the strange mystery of life. He, alas! had little that was cheering to look forward to. He believed in the existence of a Supreme Being, and yet had not the faintest conception of an after-life. Unlike the men of the Bantu races, he did not believe in ghosts or spirits. He had no theory of dreams, and did not imagine like the negro that when he dreamed he was really experiencing all that was passing through his brain, and that his soul or spirit was actually knocking around somewhere, having a good time of it, unclogged by his body. Moran believed nothing of that; indeed, whether he had any idea on the subject, I have not been able to determine. When the man died, he was finished utterly, except so far as he might go piecemeal to build up the body of a hyena, a vulture, or a marabout stork. The Masai believe in annihilation. To bury a corpse would, they think, be to poison the soil: it must be thrown to the wild beasts without ceremony.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

latter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uncircumcised boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the older women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors used to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and younger warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kunono*, sing. *ol-kunoni*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among themselves. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who oil their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Matapato river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.[6]

Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Bantu.

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *ol-osowuas*, and eland, *o-sirua*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[7] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *ol-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Bantu agriculturists, *il-meek*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Taveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (beans, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Bantu; the chief suppliers of meal are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[6] Leakey says that the Masai buy their swords from the Kikuyu (*JRAI*, LX, p. 209); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.

[7] The Galla also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Bahrey, *Historia Gentis Galla*, chap. XX, Guidi.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

whose warlike qualities appeal to the Masai. Honey, honey-wine, and ivory are got from the Dorobo. Ivory was used in the old days for trading with the Swahili caravans for cloth, beads, wire, and so forth. Trade outside Masailand is conducted mostly by the women, for by mutual arrangement they were allowed to pass unharmed from tribe to tribe even during the progress of a war.

Hunting

Though the Masai do not hunt habitually, and despise those who do, they used occasionally to kill wild animals—elephants for their tusks, buffalo and eland for the meat and hides, ostriches for their feathers, and lion and leopard to protect their cattle.

Labour

Although deprived of their only real occupation, fighting, the Masai have not yet as a people accepted any substitute for it, being, as Sandford noted, "too proud to work," i.e., for wages. A small number have accepted employment as herdsmen on farms, and some have done good service in the Police and K.A.R., though even in a military capacity most of them are still unwilling to submit to a form of discipline that is not their own. Though a few have taken to cultivation, the majority have not yet consented to stoop to what they consider labour unworthy of a Masai.

Sources: Thomson, 1885; Hollis, 1905; Johnston, 1902; Merker, 1910; Sandford, 1919; Fosbrooke, 1948, and personal communication.

THE AGRICULTURAL MASAI

The agricultural Masai, the I-Lumpua (Lumbwa) and Il-Oikop of former days, are people of Masai stock who, having lost their cattle through disease or defeat, were forced to take up agriculture in order to survive, and by so doing earned the lasting contempt of the pastoral Masai. It is in most cases uncertain how long the various groups of Il-Oikop have been agriculturalists; some of the southern Masai, for example, were defeated by the Gogo early in the 19th century and took to agriculture. Fischer in 1882 reported groups of "Wakuavi," as he called them, living on the southern edge of the Mau; at Ndaseriani (Ndare serian), 15 miles south-west of Narosura; in the region known as Nguruman (*in-kurman*, "the farms") for about 30 miles north of Lake Natron; at the southern foot of Mt. Meru; and at Kahe.[8] Von Höhnel adds Ndasekera, 20 miles north-west of Lake Natron.[9] Another group is named by Thomson and von Höhnel[10] at Taveta; while the map in Hollis's *The Masai* shows them as extending for about 100 miles south-south-east of Lake Manyara. The best known, however, are the northern group called Il-Tiamus or En-jemusi (Njemps) near Lake Baringo, concerning whom we have (such as it is) the fullest information.

With the exception of the Taveta group, the agricultural Masai in general resemble the pastoral Masai in appearance, dress, and general culture, and though they cultivate the ground, still have the acquisition of cattle as their chief ambition. Those of Taveta have mingled with the Taveta,[11] and have become the most successful cultivators among the Masai; the rest of the agricultural Masai in the days of Thomson and Teleki grew mainly eleusine and millet, while the Il-Tiamus grew also pumpkins, and tried unsuccessfully to grow maize. Most of the agricultural Masai supplemented their diet by hunting, bee-keeping, and, where possible, by fishing.

[8] *Das Massai-Land*, 1885, map at end.
[9] *Discovery, etc.*, II, p. 3.
[10] *Through Masai Land*, chap. III; *Discovery, etc.*, II, pp. 2, 3.
[11] Called by the Masai il Tupeita, sing. ol Tupeitai.

/6 cont./

174 original homeland, which is to be sought in the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula. Only at the equator did the march to the south stop. Here the Masai found not only steppe regions such as they required for their herds, but also tribes of people such as they needed, as victims of their war expeditions, for their own survival.

000 The agriculturalist finds his sustenance in the soil; the one who carries on agriculture and stock raising finds in the former an adequate livelihood, even during periods that are unfavorable for stock raising, and he can, through the more stable trade relations that he owes to his sedentariness, acquire the new breeding animals that are needed to prevent too extensive an inbreeding of the livestock. On the other hand, a culture-poor nomadic people that lives solely and only from the livestock is in a much more unfavorable position. Merely to protect the herds from degeneration, a constant supply of breeding animals on a large scale is an urgent necessity. Moreover, because of the rinderpest, periodically appearing and in Africa, unfortunately, almost never dying out, and other epidemics, ruin very often threatens the stockbreeder, if in such cases he has no opportunity to replace his losses as quickly as possible and to obtain vegetable food in the meantime. Steppe peoples are aggressive, and for culture-poor peoples in
[101] general might always comes before right. There now live in the mountain lands lying on the borders of the steppes, and in the ones enclosed by them, Negro tribes who, in relation to the Masai, held together by firm organization and a high degree of tribal arrogance, and exceedingly mobile, are very immobile, for one thing, but then also are bound together within their own tribes only by a greater or lesser degree of herdlike obedience. They
• [439] are accustomed to seeing, even in their sedentary neighbors, their born enemies; they live constantly at war among themselves, even in a small space, since often each village is independent, and thus must have been desirable neighbors for the Masai, from whom the latter could at any time obtain both vegetables and, what was of special value, livestock.

/32 cont./

512 [462] [351] [252] [415] [439] When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture, the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e modi, 'modio) are not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary tribes or also from the Wandoróbo, who presumably learned the potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In contrast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, especially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they buy from the neighboring peoples, since they themselves do not engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however, are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by healthy people uncooked, as fresh (en̤ gule) or sour (en̤ gule naoto); boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with pulverized grains of ol lodoa (Maesa lanceolata). Sheep milk is especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted state. Milk mixed with fresh or /33/ cooked blood (en jiwṓt) is greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat, rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is prepared without adding salt; it is cooked either with various spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in one day cooked meat and milk /Ill. 13 appears here/ together (1),

262 [241] 262 272 [158] [158] [234] [252] [263] [252] [153] [263]

[171]

1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol mokotan spice (bark of

/34 cont./

262 Masai only most reluctantly and infrequently sell cow's milk, for
272 the buyer indeed could in the above-mentioned manner make their
cows sick with it. The Masai scorn any kind of game meat, as
[136] well as birds and even fish, of the latter of which species of Barbus, Chromis, Clarias, and the sheatfish-like Synodontis occur almost everywhere in larger brooks.

252 The preparation of the principal vegetables is the following:
262 batatas (ol muruṅgu, el muruṅguni -- Ipomoea batatas) are cooked
263 in water with a little steppe salt (e munján), then drained, mashed with a whisk (ol gibere, el giberen), and stirred with fresh milk. The finished dish is called el muruṅguni. Unripe bananas (ol marigôi, el marigo -- Musa paradisiaca) are peeled, cut up, and cooked in water with salt. After they have been drained, a little butter (eṅ gorno) is added. Unripe dried bananas (ol kitâùo, el kitâùón) are cooked in water, drained, and then stirred with milk and butter. Maize kernels (ol bâlegi, el bâleg) are cooked in water without the addition of salt. Beans are cooked with salt. One distinguishes ol bombôi -- el bombo (Dolichos lablab), eṅ giú --eṅ giũn (with which both Cajanus indicus and Vigna sinensis are designated), furthermore os sigoriôi -- es sigorio (Phaseolus vulgaris), ol gámuri -- el gámuri (Phaseolus radiatus). Eleusine coracana (en dabá -- 'n dabán, or en drigá -- 'n drigán or also called eṅ guruma -- 'n guruman) and Sorghum vulgare (ol birirí -- el birirín) are cooked to a thick porridge and lightly salted. Dioscorea abessynica (ol geré -- el gerén) and Colocasia antiquorum (which the Masai on Kilimandscharo designate with the Dschagga /Chagga/ word maduma) are cooked in salted water.

Honey (en aischo -- 'n aischi) is eaten unmixed and is also
276 used as an addition to various medicaments. They buy tobacco
[439] (ol gumbâu, Nicotiana rustica), which the Masai consume in quantities, from sedentary Negroes, who put it on the market in loose, bast-wrapped packets (Fig. 4) of various sizes or in the shape of solid balls about five centimeters in diameter.
[415] For the preparation of this, the tobacco leaves, picked ripe, are tightly packed, tied up with

Fig. 4.

/34 cont./

276 other leaves, for example, from the banana, and thus left to ferment for several days. Then they are hung up to dry in the shade or in the hut, and, as soon as they are sufficiently dry, they are packed together in the above-mentioned packets. To make the ball tobacco, on the other hand, /35/ one lightly pounds in a mortar the fermented and dried leaves, after they have been sprinkled with water, without, however, thereby breaking up the leaves. The very moist mass is then shaped into balls, which are left to dry in the sun. The [435] Masai pay a goatskin for two packets of about half a pound each or for ten balls. Only the old people use tobacco. The men smoke, sniff, and chew it, while the women content themselves with chewing and sniffing. The tobacco intended for smoking is coarsely cut. The tobacco pipes (Fig. 5) consist of a thin wooden tube about a foot long (os sarian) and a conically shaped clay or [322] wooden bowl (ol mōti). The latter is carved by the Masai themselves, [439] whereas they buy the clay bowls. For chewing one uses

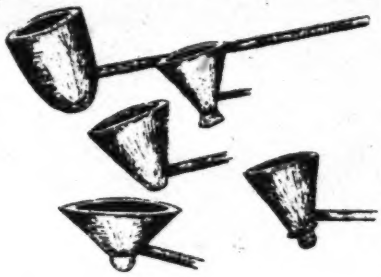

Fig. 5. (1/3)

[415] [531]

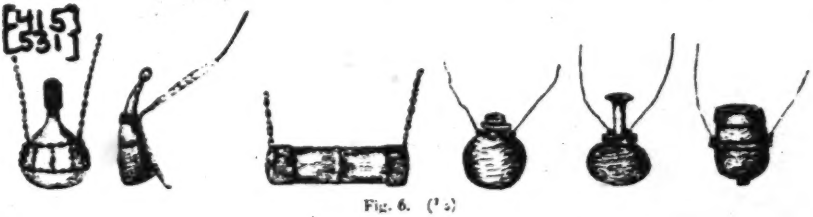

Fig. 6. (1/3)

the same tobacco and chews it with a little pea-sized piece of natron salt (e magát). To prepare the tobacco for snuff, the smoking tobacco is first cut as fine as possible and then ground to powder with a round stone in a piece of gourd shell. To this one

/35 cont./

276 adds some natron salt and beef fat, frequently also pulverized bark of ol amóra (Ocimum suave Wild.), and mixes the whole by further grinding. [415] Small boxes (en dulet -- 'n duleta) [237] made out of wood, bamboo, cattle [531] or sheep horn, or even out of the [136] horn of the Rhinoceros bicornis, which often are quite attractively carved and decorated with beads, [273] serve as snuffboxes (Fig. 6). They [415] are worn around the neck on thin chains made out of iron wire.

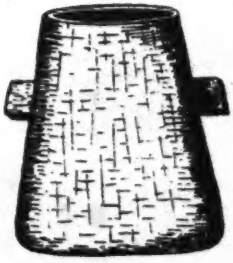

Fig. 7. (1/10.) Vessel for the preparation of honey beer.

273 Another luxury, also intended only for married men, is a kind of honey beer (en aischo namga) (Fig. 7). One dissolves honey in [824] water and adds a piece of the root of the steppe aloe, os sugurôi, /36/ or a peeled and cooked piece of the root of the so-called liver-sausage tree (1)

1. Named after the resemblance of the fruit to a liver sausage.

(ol darbôi -- Kigelia aethiopica), both as a taste corrective and to hasten the fermentation. The mixture is allowed to stand and ferment three to five days in a warm place, say, in the vicinity [824] of the hearth fire. Before it is drunk, one often puts in a few bunches of leaves from the ol gonjet bush, I suspect in order to stop the vinegar fermentation. The honey beer is quite strongly intoxicating, so that a drinking bout usually ends with complete drunkenness. Other brews, which the sedentary Negroes bring to [439] the Masai for sale and which are made out of bananas and Eleusine, maize, or sorghum, are milder. The Masai do not distinguish these with names, but rather call them generally ol márua.

[illegible]

[illegible]

415
(356)

[illegible]

(531)
[illegible]

1. [illegible]

415
322

[illegible]

(139)

[illegible]

415
(434)

(239)

[illegible]

/102 cont./

728 648 lasting conclusion of friendship between Europeans and Masai as completely impossible, both on the basis of an experience of almost eight years and also according to the statements of a large number of Masai, who, in the course of a long personal acquaintance, gained so much confidence as to express themselves frankly about this point. [829] According to their view a friendship, in whatever form it might be concluded, would only ever have the result that individual persons in the service of the Europeans concerned would find a hospitable reception in the Masai kraals. It could no more bring about a lasting friendship than it would induce the Masai to follow the orders and the laws of the Europeans.

• [439] On the other hand, if the Masai seriously mean peace because the tribe warred upon lives close to them and they are dependent on it for buying vegetable food there (as, for example, in the above-mentioned Kahe), they make an ertana etabaschage ñ gera = suckling of exchanged children. After they have sent off an old man, as before, and he has returned together with a few foreign old men, it is agreed in consultation that the Kahe chief, a Kahe woman with a suckling child, and a number /103/ of witnesses should come to a certain designated place in the steppe between Kahe and the Masai kraals. At the appointed time, there will also be found there a woman from the Masai (not a true Masai, however, but one from another tribe captured in a previous war) with a suckling child, as well as the speaker, the leaders, and other warriors as witnesses. The two women now exchange their children, and each puts the foreign child to her breast for a moment. They then take the children on their backs in the leather apron and conclude blood friendship with each other. One of the witnesses makes a few incisions in the skin of the abdomen of each of the two women and hands her a small piece of the heart of a just slaughtered head of livestock. After each one has wiped off the blood coming out of her cut with this, she sticks it in the mouth of the other. While this ceremony is going on, the speaker and the chief of Kahe affirm eternal friendship in the name of their people; they call upon God as their witness and pray to him that he might exterminate them if they do not maintain the friendship. Every conclusion of peace has as its consequence the obligation for mutual hospitality.

306 /116 cont./
301 the wives of the blacksmiths. Smaller ornamental objects of wire
325 are made by the other Masai women. The small chains of iron and
[462] copper wire are not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought
[439] ready-made from the caravan people or the sedentary neighboring tribes.

XIV.

000 Character. -- National pride. -- Disrespect for foreigners. -- Designation of foreigners. -- The Masai in the service of the European. -- Attitude of the Masai living among his people toward the European. -- The Masai toward their kind. -- Hospitality -- Position of the woman. -- How the Negro illustrates the character of the Masai. -- Expression of emotions and other gestures. -- Strength of vision. -- Art sense. -- Color sense. -- Orientation ability. -- Song. -- Ideal of beauty of the human body.

186 The most outstanding trait in the character of the Masai is their
779 national pride which is based on the religious view that they are the
829 chosen people of God. God created the world and all that is in it
[181] only for them. All non-Masai are subject to the Masai people and their property belongs to them. This explains the haughtiness and the deep disdain toward the sedentary Negroes, who are not familiar with 'Ng ai and have no share in the good things created by him and who therefore are condemned to wrest their daily food from the
[461] soil in the sweat of work. On the other hand, God cares for the Masai as for his children, they need not work: "eñ dobira mēti sidai = work is not good, everything belongs to them anyway, and, since the Negroes do not give it voluntarily, the Masai take it by force. In fact, the Negro, in the opinion of the Masai, only has justification for existence as keeper of the livestock created by 'Ng ai for the Masai.

186 In general the Masai designates all non-Masai as el meg (sing. ol meggi), a term that is to be translated as "unbeliever." /117/ The Masai does not know friendship and loyalty toward the

/127 cont./

411 polished, seldom unpolished and black. The latter is not a sign of crudeness, but is supposed to prevent gleaming in the sun. The
• [439] spears carried by the Masai are not all made by the el konono, but
[177] are also /128/ bought from sedentary Negroes, and, to be sure, chiefly from the Wadschagga of the Kilimandscharo, whose black-
[177] smiths make them for the warriors of their tribe or also on order for Masai warriors. One therefore finds among the spears of the Masai

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Ill. 42. Young Masai with spear. Müller phot.

/134 cont./
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[136]
[237]
flocks in the branches of the trees surrounding the kraals, waiting for some kind of animal waste. In addition to the iron points, one also finds awl-shaped wooden points; the latter are often poisoned, the former only rarely. The Masai do not make the poison (en duerai) themselves, but buy it from Wandorobo, who obtain it from /135/ the olmoridjoi (Acocanthera abyssinica) tree by boiling the roots and the wood. The arrows are carried in a leather quiver (e modian, modiani), which is slung over the shoulder on a leather strap. It consists of a tube 70 centimeters long and made out of neat's skin, with a bottom stitched in and a similarly worked, twelve-centimeter lid that can be turned up high.

[439]

[237]

Firearms, which at times almost entirely replaced the spears and bows among sedentary Negroes (1),

1. For example, in a few areas at Kilimandscharo.

[648]
[729]
are not generally carried by the Masai. Although in the battles with the Protectorate Troops they have at various times captured guns and ammunition from fallen Askari, I never observed or learned that they used these weapons. They never bought muzzle-loaders from trade caravans, and the ones that I found in one of their kraals showed by the lack of cock or piston, or by other damage, that they were not carried along by the Masai for the purpose of use, but merely as trophies. It was not until April, 1902, that a troop of Masai warriors armed with English Snyder breech-loaders came into my field of observation. The troop came from the Masai province of Ol bruggo, and, to be sure, from the English station of Nairobi, located on the Uganda railway, and attempted an invasion in the Kilimandscharo area of Rombo. With a loss of approximately 20 per cent dead and bootyless, however, they were sent home by the Warombo, armed only with spears.

[177]

/135 cont./

XVI.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- Leather dressing. -- The individual articles of clothing. -- "Beautifying" the body, head hair, beard, body hair. -- The hair style of the warriors. -- Painting of the face and body. -- Caustic and incised decorative scars. -- Teeth. -- Fingernails.

29 177 [439] Cloth materials, such as the caravans from the coast engaged in the ivory trade in the Masai steppes take along trade goods, have not yet ever really succeeded in being adopted among the Masai.

For the trade this is, of course, regrettable, but for one who comes into frequent, daily contact with the people it is really fortunate, for there is scarcely an uglier and more repulsive sight than a native decked out as completely as possible in European clothing, especially if one sees him thus amidst his fellow tribesmen in their traditional garb exactly suitable for them. Not only is the eye offended, however, but also the nose and further many another. One should merely consider that the people have never learned how to manage with such clothing and that generations will pass before its use has to a certain extent become part of their flesh and blood. [296] /136/ A cleansing of the things therefore does not occur and likewise the regular drawing off and on. The native hangs on his body whatever he gets and keeps it on until it falls off by itself, so to [515] [147] speak. Naturally he always stinks and as a rule also harbors all kinds of vermin. One day I met with a European caravan a Masai youth whose former master had departed some six weeks previously and, upon leaving, had given him a pair of shoes. The boy told me quite innocently that he had put the shoes on at the time and had never removed them since! The people of the caravan, European and Colored, confirmed this statement. Such aesthetic aberrations are very rare exceptions among the Masai, however. Every sensible person disdains bedecking himself with such trash, and that boy would also /Ill. 43 appears here/ come to his senses again when the shoes were in shreds. From then on I always saw him only in Masai dress.

/183/

752 164 Liver and spleen abcesses are supposed to be cut open to drain off the pus. I saw scars in the areas in question several times, but was never able to observe the operation itself.

757 164 For so-called bilious fever (ol odoa = the gall), an emetic is taken first, either a strong dose of grains of the ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata) or a bark extract of ofti (Acacia mellifera); then one drinks a root decoction of ol deregeli (?) or of ol manuai (?).

To get rid of intestinal worms (taeniae [ol gurto, el gurt] and ascarids [ol budi, el budok]) one uses decoctions of the bark of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica), of the root of ol deregeli (?), of the fruits of ol odoa (Maesa lanceolata), or also of the powdered bark of ol jani 'njugi (Embelia kilimandscharica Gilg), the latter of which is always taken with fat since otherwise it is too acrid and easily causes violent abdominal pains with diarrhea.

To cure ancylostomiasis (eŋg ɛ́a eŋ́ gijábe) one administers a decoction of the bark bast of ol mokotan (Albizzia anthelmintica); the bark bast is cooked with meat; the patient drinks the meat broth.

Venereal Diseases

757 [164] [548] Gonorrhea and especially lues are quite rare among the Masai. This is due in part to the absence of professional prostitution, and in part to the fact that the Masai are familiar with the dangerousness of these diseases and their easy transmissibility. Those stricken with lues are segregated and may not enter any kraal until the external symptoms of the illness have disappeared; during this time they live outside the kraal in a superficially built hut surrounded by thorn branches for protection against predatory animals. Accordingly lues is called eŋg ɛa auló, formed out of eng ɛa = the sickness, auló = outside the kraal. Lues patients drink a great deal of liquid fat and liquid butter for a cure. One drips on the lues ulcers, as well as on [439] those of the chancres, juice of the leaves of ol aisigirai (?), sprinkles on them a powder made out of the leaves of ol agaramóni (?), or burns them with Cuprum sulfuricum, which the Masai obtain in trade with caravans.

/212 cont./

593 already been discussed elsewhere (1).

1. Cf. 2nd Part, II, IV, XX.

All disputes arising in this connection are settled by the head of the family without formal procedure.

421 The property rights are little developed. There are no provisions with reference to landed property. The pasture land of the district is the common property of all its inhabitants. The plains are so large that there is more than enough pasture for everyone's herds. Property belongs to a single individual, not to the family jointly.

425 A lost article, if the loser lives in the vicinity and is known, will be returned for a reward (for example, for a spear that has been found, a small goat or a piece of meat will be paid as finder's reward). Otherwise the finder keeps it and it is up to him whether or not he ever returns it. If a stolen article is sold, the buyer becomes the owner, while the person stolen from has to look to the thief for compensation. Even up to 30-40 years ago ivory that was found was heedlessly left lying. Then the Masai learned to appreciate its value from the caravans coming from the coast, and it became customary that, of the two tusks of an elephant that was found, one belongs to the finder, the other belongs to the members of his lineage living in the vicinity and known to the finder. The division among

• [439] the latter takes place through the exchange of the tusk for livestock
437 with an ivory buyer. Among themselves the /213/ Masai barter
438 only livestock for livestock. A small cow is paid for with a fat ox
[435] for slaughter. In former times, before the rinderpest, when the people still had huge cattle herds but few donkeys, a donkey cost two small cows, whereas now, since the ratio has changed, it is paid for with five goats. A fat goat or a sheep is bought for a male

439 calf two to three months old. In trade with caravans, etc., people regard as trade articles, besides livestock, especially wire of iron, brass, and copper, glass beads, such as have already been mentioned in the enumeration of the ornaments, and, more recently, here and there, also colored cloth, especially the cotton fabrics known by the Suaheli /Swahili/ names schiti, konguru, and gamti. The Masai

/213 cont./

439 designate the first one as en aŋga en djore, i.e., war cloth, because the warriors like to dress up in it; the konguru they call en aŋga bos, i.e., colored cloth, and the gamti, ol garascha.

43 The demand for the individual trade articles varies a great deal. At times the need for one kind is so well supplied that it is either not taken at all or far below its value. Correspondingly, the value of another kind often rises disproportionately high through the heightened demand. A lengthy discussion back and forth precedes every exchange or purchase transaction. As a sign of a settlement, the seller spits [452] on the object. The exchange follows at once; only trustworthy acquaintances are granted credit. The risk in the matter, for cattle, does not pass to the buyer until the day after purchase, otherwise immediately.

426 686 The creditor proceeds against a nonpaying debtor first by complaint, and if this remains without effect, he helps himself to his property by force, provided that the debtor can comfortably pay, but for some reason, usually one that has nothing to do with the debt, does not want to pay: a road that is also often taken as the only one. Only upon his impoverishment will the creditor become earnestly pressing. [672] Then, if the debtor is incapable of paying, his brothers and half brothers, or if such are not present or are unavailable, his paternal cousins must pay. Whether the former or the latter pay, the repayment of the debt is always arranged so that no great economic hardship arises for the one paying. The creditor, if he does not voluntarily [626] enter upon the arrangement, is forced into it by the public opinion, which is often expressed in violence. An inconsiderate collection of an outstanding debt actually never occurs; rather, the creditor almost always displays an extraordinary kind-heartedness and forbearance about it and often lets himself be put off for years or waits patiently until the debtor or his heir is in such a good position that the repayment of the debt will be easy for them. It may also happen that the [581] creditor takes a daughter of the debtor and, after she has reached marriageable age in the service of one of his wives, marries her. [583] Since the creditor, even in this case, /214/ pays his father-in-law the bride price, the debt remains standing in full and the kinship [672] bond only makes its repayment more certain. The heir is liable for

After the war the German titles were invalidated. In 1921 Sir Charles Ross purchased the title to, or a lease on 16,309 acres of the Crater to preserve the game and provide himself with a winter home. He never was able to be in residence, however, and there was a long litigation between him and the Tanganyika Government which ended by their repossessing the land when the said lease expired in 1940. Apparently a Captain G.H.R. Hurst also had a farm in the crater "for several years" after the war (Joelson, 1928).

There were a few European ranches along the north edge of Western Masailand in Kenya prior to 1911. At least one of these was owned by a Major Carnegie in the Lemek Valley north-east of Aitong (Kenya Game Dept., 1911). All European lands in Western Masailand in Kenya were given to the Masai as a result of the treaty of 1911.

At Narok, Loliondo, and Ngorongoro Crater there are District Administration offices and missions. Being a District Headquarters Narok also has a Masai school and hospital. Periodically Europeans, especially South Africans, have run small stores here and there in the area. We were told that one was at Guaso Nyiro,

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

ASIANS

Indians were brought to East Africa in the 1890's and early 1900's to help build the Uganda railway. When the railway was completed many of the Indians elected to stay. Many were hard working and industrious. There were willing to work for less than the Europeans, yet were far more skilled and industrious than the Africans. Consequently they prospered. They now own most of the retail and wholesale business and much of the business real estate in East Africa.

In Western Masailand they have accompanied most of the European mining, administrative and business activities. Their most prominent role is that of duka keeper. Virtually all the retail trade goods that enter Western Masailand are handled by the Asian duka keepers., They, with some Somali traders, handle hides and skins buying, itinerant business from trucks visiting the larger bomas, and the trade at dukas at Lolliondo, Narok, Ikoma, and Ngorongoro, as well as at a number of small isolated dukas.

As a rule they do not burn or hunt or cultivate on more than a back-yard scale. They apparently encourage some rhino poaching, and they sell the wire

5: Abbott N-5 (ca. 1890) 1892 FN4 Chagga FN4
Rogai FL12
Nika FL14

C
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CLOAK. Made of cony skins (*Dendrokyrax validus*); square; tied around the neck. Worn by males only.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151886

CLOAK OR CAPE. Made of cony skins, squared and sewed together. Worn over the shoulders.

Size 4 by 3 feet.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151887

CLOAK. Made of cony skins sewed together and simply worn over the shoulders as a protection in cold weather.

Three feet square.
Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151888

CAPE. Made of three goatskins sewed together.

Length, 3 feet 3 inches; width, 21 inches.
Wa Chaga tribe; Marhamo district, Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151889

M
439 ●
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WAR CLOTH (*Malbére*). For trade with the Masai all cloth must be made up into malbéye. The red stripe in this specimen is too narrow and therefore was rejected in trade.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151890
In dress, implements, and in weapons, fashion reigns supreme among these fastidious aborigines. Frequently, an enough effected in trade will be rejected with the remark "We have not used that pattern for ten years."

M
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714
337

WAR CAPE (*Maliti*). Made of the feathers of the vulture and the guinea fowl, fastened to a groundwork of goatskin. Worn over the shoulders by Masai warriors.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151907

WAR CAPE (*Maliti*). Made of the feathers of the vulture and guinea fowl, which are fastened to a groundwork of leather. Worn over the shoulders by Masai warriors.

Masai tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151908

BEADWORK. Parallel bands of beading on leather, sewn to the cloth as an ornament; usually on the bottom of the cloak.

Mieski tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151910

N
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ARM-RINGS. Made of the toe-nails of the elephant. Have bands or rings cut out so as to pass over the hand. They are of the same width all around, varying from one-fourth to one-twelfth of an inch in thickness.

Dschagga, East Africa. 151939

C
301

ARMLETS. Cut from the butt end of a buffalo horn; resembling the widely-gaping mouth of the skeleton of a fish.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151939

ARMLET. Beaded leather band, with fringe of iron chain. Worn by women.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151935

ARMLET. Beaded leather band. Worn by women.

Wa Chaga tribe; Mount Kilima-Njaro, East Africa. 151936